1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole
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Pukapukans

[For description of personality types and specific cultural patternings of preferred conduct, see category 116, p. 306.]

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183 Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

828 Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psy-
774 chology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that
869 leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

193 Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the
828 existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude.
787 At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained
775 by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the [529] hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

776 Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused
828 by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*) which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

828 The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the con-
787 ception of a child (*miti uakatiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

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the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialaloa, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou wakamatanga lee yi o latou longo ki tupua").

The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *you*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangalipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

Rehabilitation

Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia wakamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

Function

533 Of two general functions of the composition and reciting of
173 chants, one is directly sociological in that the chants, by their
773 extreme use of allusive reference, serve as a sort of memo-
183 randum of significant events chronicled in full in the history and traditions of the group. A name reference in a chant to an historical or mythical character, or to a legendary land, calls to mind in very few words a whole cycle of stories connected with the subject mentioned. The chants do not take the place of traditions, but for the Pukapukans they are an indispensible method of cataloguing the body of traditions and passing these on to a younger generation. The chants cannot be understood without the background of knowledge which is the history and traditions of the people. The chants themselves also constitute a check on the validity of old customs and incidents when they are challenged today. Anyone who can support his statement by quoting lines which establish the existence of a custom from a recognizably old and well known chant has won his case. Absence of reference in old chants constitutes sufficient evidence of the non-existence or non-occurrence of a custom or incident. When he suggested that the explorer Mahuta had come to Pukapuka on a visit from Tongareva, the proponent of this theory was asked by other informants to quote a chant in proof of his statement. As he was unable by this means to prove his point, the general consensus was that he had learned of Mahuta on a visit to Tongareva and had become confused in his traditional history of Pukapuka. Even a casual reading of the chants will indicate their richness of reference to old-time social customs. From discussion of these references with informants, much material was collected that had a direct bearing upon all aspects of native Pukapukan culture.

533 Besides their sociological function, the chants have a direct
154 psychological function in the life of the people. Their com-
578 position and recitation provide a channelizing of emotion that might otherwise break out in less desirable, even anti-social ways. Sentiments of aggression in the individual and in groups of individuals are given an outlet in the taunting and boasting chants, and pass off in a great burst of harmless energy instead of banking up and flooding through channels of violence and homicide. This is a very necessary safeguard to develop in a small closely confined community, the culture patterns of which are strongly extraverted and set a premium on vigorous energetic unconfined displays of behavior. It is not unreasonable to correlate the small amount of actual warfare and violence in Pukapukan history with the extreme development of the practice of composing and singing chants which